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CONSPIRACY AND CONSCIENCE.

A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE GUNPOWDER PLOT.

BY JOHN KNIPE.

PART III. DEFEAT.

LORD MONTEAGLE AND THE ANONYMOUS LETTER.

OCTOBER 26, 1605.

"The giving Warning to One overthrew us All."

Confession of Guy Fawkes (Nov. 6th).

"NO incident of the Gunpowder Plot has taken so strong a hold upon the popular imagination as has the famous warning Letter to Lord Monteagle." I should be inclined to add that no character in the whole story is more perplexing and difficult to analyse, for his lordship's actions and motives are curious as well as obscure.

William Parker, Lord Monteagle, was kinsman by blood or by marriage to most of the chief conspirators. He held his title by courtesy through his mother, Elizabeth (*née* Stanley), she being the heiress of Lord Monteagle, who belonged to a younger branch of the Stanleys of Derby. Her mother, Anne, Lady Monteagle, was a firm friend of the English Jesuits.

His father, *Edward Parker, Baron Morley*, went abroad as a Recusant under Elizabeth, but he returned, having made his peace, and apparently he conformed. He made the somewhat peculiar exchange of his hereditary office of Lord Marshal of Ireland for the publishing rights of his book *God and the King*, a Children's Manual for Instruction in the Oath of Allegiance. It is perhaps the earliest-known example of that kind of political tract. The Queen was pleased to show him favour and Lord Morley was appointed a Royal Commissioner at two famous State Trials: Mary Queen of Scots, and Philip Earl of Arundel. He arranged a family match for his son, then under eighteen, with Elizabeth, fourth daughter of Sir Thomas Tresham and Muriel, the heiress of Sir Robert Throgmorton of Coughton. (Anne, Lady Catesby, was Lady Tresham's sister.)

Like his father, Monteagle changed sides and opinions. He chose soldiering and he was knighted for his service under Essex in Ireland (1599) and next year he was a Gentleman Volunteer in the Flanders Expedition. January, 1601, saw him "out" hotly for Essex, and sharing his friend Catesby's imprisonment in the Tower. Monteagle was only released after paying the very heavy fine of £8,000, exacted by the Star-Chamber, which the Queen seems to have partly granted to Bacon.

This did not impoverish Monteagle, for he had two Town houses; Monteagle House in Southwark, and his Hoxton Manor in the

village street, then pleasant open country at the foot of the Northern Heights. He kept prudently on good terms with his father, and frequently stayed at Halling Morley in Essex, the family seat. Monteagle was the patron of Thomas Winter before he also took to soldiering in Flanders, and Winter had his Town Lodging in Monteagle Close, Southwark, to the end. Probably Winter persuaded him to finance the secret Mission to Madrid of himself and Greenway (1602). His private secretary, or "confidential gentleman," was Thomas Warde, the relative of Winter and the Wrights, and the former's friend. Warde was "in" with the Jesuit Party. Monteagle's warm friendship with Catesby, the "deare Robin" of his letter, has been noticed, in whose company he visited "the House in Essex" to see Garnet, and made a guarded reply evading the Jesuit's question whether the time was ripe for a Catholic Rising.

In spite of fierce accusations that Monteagle was either an *agent provocateur* or at least a trusted spy of Cecil I have not found any trustworthy evidence to support the charge of such perfidy. It rests mainly on these grounds: Monteagle's concurrence in the Spanish Treason aforesaid, his letter to Catesby, "My loving Kinsman," inviting him to meet the writer at Bath, and that he sent letters to Rome by Baynham (1605), finally that he was Francis Tresham's cousin and confidant. For the aid given to the Jesuit Mission after the Essex Revolt in Elizabeth's Reign it was fully condoned by the general amnesty granted at the King's Accession; there is no proof that Monteagle did meet Catesby at Bath, and if he did, that would not imply that he joined in the secret counsels of the archplotters, Catesby, Percy and Winter: it was not a treasonable offence to send letters to Rome, for James himself sent messages to the Pope through his French Ambassador; and Monteagle cannot be blamed for being Tresham's brother-in-law and favourite cousin!

There is one point where the evidence presses nearer, but it was made by Garnet, who publicly asserted "Equivocation is lawful, how and when I have shown." And, though I have searched carefully all available contemporary documents, there is *nothing*, not a single fact to suggest that Robert Catesby dared trust Monteagle with the perilous secret. He told no man, except Garnet through Greenway and the latter in confession, who had not first taken the Oath of Secrecy. This rests on the testimony of them all. Therefore Monteagle cannot have "turned King's Evidence," as some suspected from the marks of royal favour shown him.

He had earned them, for he joined Southampton in securing the Tower for the King (1603), and he witnessed the Duke of York's Charter (January, 1605). That same year he wrote a remarkable letter to King James on Religion, which is the best guide perhaps to explain his lordship's motives. "He thanks the King humbly for his tender and fatherly Love and Care of his Soul's Good. He assures his Majesty's Wisdom that he will live and die in that Religion which he has now resolved to profess. Bred up

in the Romish Religion he has not suddenly changed. He has solemnly sought the Divine Guidance and he has conferred with learned men. He finds their (Romish) foundations weak: the Papacy being opposed to Holy Scripture has tried his Doubts. His Motives are God's true Service and his own Salvation: not Gain, nor Honour, nor the highly valued Favour of the King. He is not afraid of Blame, being enlightened by seeing Truth. His Desire is to serve and rest His Majesty's most loyal and obedient Servant, William Mownteagle."

SUMMONS TO PARLIAMENT, 1605. ARRIVAL AT HOXTON MANOR.

The King was not slow to respond, for after his letter Monteagle conformed publicly. He received a Summons to attend Parliament as a Peer of the Realm, his courtesy title being confirmed by Royal Patent. Much ado has been made of Monteagle's preference for his Hoxton Manor when his larger house in Southwark was more fashionable and convenient. It has been supposed that he chose a quiet neighbourhood which was also near Tresham's place at "Hogsden" and his Clerkenwell Lodging. This is pure speculation. It is just as easy to suppose that Monteagle preferred the north side of the Thames to going round by London Bridge, and that he desired to hunt with the Court at Royston Chace.

The latter is probable, for he had last stayed at Hoxton in the autumn of 1604, when deer-hunting was in season. Tresham had gone down to Rushton Hall the day before, unless he returned secretly, which is hard to square with his business as recorded in North Hants and his pledge to Catesby that he would return through Barnet on the 28th or 29th. And Tresham's movements were closely watched by Catesby's spies when he left for Rushton.

It was dusk on the Saturday of October 26th when "an unknown man of indifferent stature" appeared; some accounts add "his face muffled in a cloak," and accosted Monteagle's lackey who had been sent across the road on some errand. This stranger—certainly not Tresham—offered a letter to the servant, enjoining him to put it at once into my Lord Monteagle's own hands, and having received a ready promise of compliance the unknown vanished into the shadows.

Within the hall, at supper, presumably in his lady's absence, Monteagle glanced up at the stir caused by his footman's refusal to deliver the letter to another servant who would have handed it to Mr. Thomas Warde. My lord called forward the honest fellow and took the letter. He observed in curiosity that it was unsealed, and merely folded. Inside the letter was undated and unsigned. "False Pasquils" were often sent to Privy Councillors, and Monteagle treated the letter with a show of disdain, passed it to Warde and bade him read it aloud. Monteagle listened with keen attention nevertheless, for he was "greatly perplexed, suspecting some device of his enemies to deter him from his attendance at Parliament." (Contemp. Acct.)

Did he suspect Catesby when he handed the Warning Letter

to Warde who was Winter's near friend? Did Monteagle guess that somehow Tresham might have contrived to send it? Wait a little. We shall see that he suspected someone else. He knew them *all*, we must remember, and was intimate with others beside Tresham, Catesby and Winter.

His lordship kept his own counsel, ordered his horse, rose from table and "notwithstanding the lateness and darkness of the night, he went presently (*i.e.* at once) to Whitehall."

The King was away, hunting in his Royal Chace at Royston, and Lord Salisbury received him civilly and waived aside the formal apologies which Monteagle offered for importuning the Secretary of State so late on what might be a trivial matter. Cecil was himself at supper, but Monteagle "drew him into a room apart" and the Minister listened with perfect courtesy and grave attention.

His private secretary, Mr. Levinus Munck, has left a detailed account of this interview, written in his own handwriting, and I prefer to relate it as it stands because of the curious intimate touches which make it read like what actually happened. Munck was more in Cecil's confidence than any other man.

Monteagle held out the Letter, "Using only these words: 'although he would not take upon him to urge the importance of this Advertisement (warning) more or less, but rather leave the judgment to his Majesty and those with whom he did use to communicate his Affairs; yet he would do himself so much right as to profess that he would no other Intention of showing this Letter received in such a Fashion but only to manifest his Love and Duty to His Majesty's Person and State, more dearer to him than his Life and wherein (howsoever others might go before him in Power) yet in true Faith and Zeal he would not be found Second to any.'"

Lord Salisbury nodded, murmured a vague civility and unfolded the Letter, "written in a Hand disguised without Date or Name," but superscribed on the back: "To the right honorable The Lord mo^wteagle." Under the candles in their silver sconces in the wall Robert Cecil read the Letter carefully and deliberately while his keen brain seized the salient points. He noted that it was ill-spelt, but the composition showed the writer to be well-educated; it gave facts but avoided the mention of names or places.

"The excited feelings under which the Letter was written and desire to keep the middle ground between telling too little and telling too much, may account for the obscurity of the style." (Gardiner.)

Turning to Monteagle the Minister said calmly: "Your Lordship has done like a discreet nobleman not to conceal a matter of such nature whatsoever the consequences may prove, because oftentimes such loose advertisements have grounds unfit to be neglected, though the quality of the informer, or the sudden apprehension of great and terrible things may make them be delivered in such a style or in such a manner as may blemish the credit of their honesty."

And Cecil added cordially: "In that respect I have always found your Lordship full of duty and love to His Majesty."

Monteagle bowed his acknowledgments and Salisbury continued : " The Council know that the priests and laymen abroad are full of practice and conspiracy with most of the Papists of this Kingdom, seeking still to lay some new Plot for procuring at this Parliament exercise of their Religion."

Monteagle was struck by these comments as compared with the warning.

" Yes," mused Cecil ; " We know of a Petition to the King then among their projects." And by another account he added, " Which Petition should so cunningly be delivered and strongly backed as the King would be loth to refuse their requests."

He fell silent awhile, thinking, and then he concluded in a decided tone : " This matter is worthy of consideration and I shall immediately communicate it to some of the Lords of the Council."

Apparently Monteagle took the hint and his formal leave. He left Whitehall well satisfied.

I believe the foregoing is a fair report of what passed between them, and if some challenge it as coming from Court documents I would ask them, ' Who else was present during the interview, and what better authority can we have than Levinus Munck who must have heard it from Cecil's lips ? '

Those who blacken Monteagle ought to consider that if he had simply held his tongue and concealed or destroyed the Letter he would have incurred the dreaded penalties of " Misprision (Contempt) of Treason," which included at least a very heavy fine by the Star-Chamber and might entail lifelong imprisonment in the Tower with forfeiture of all his goods. Had he taken any direct action to warn those whom he suspected he would have been guilty of High Treason, as Accessory before Fact. Cecil showed the Letter first to his fellow-Councillor in the Palace, Thomas Howard Earl of Suffolk, the Lord High Chamberlain. Salisbury in his official report to the Foreign Ambassadors generously gives full credit to Suffolk, who remarked instantly " that the matter concerned his Office, as well in places of the King's usual repair as otherwise."

This remark shows how natural Suffolk's presence was at Whitehall that night, since his Court duties required him to be in residence a few days before James' return to Town.

" And, therefore, did the said two Counsellors conclude that they should join unto themselves three more of the Council, to wit, the Lord Admiral (the Earl of Nottingham), the Earls of Worcester and Northampton."

There is again nothing surprising in the fact of Salisbury's colleagues being at Whitehall. In the King's absence, and when Parliament was not sitting, the Government of the country was of course regularly carried on by the Privy Council, which then answered to our modern Cabinet. I must here express my own astonishment that none of the eminent authorities who have criticized Cecil's action and raised so many suspicions and doubts appear to have observed the obvious fact. *Five members of the Council formed a Quorum for Emergency Business of State.* Salisbury simply did

his duty when he hastily called together an urgent meeting of the Privy Council to lay the Letter before them and discuss it with His Majesty's advisers.

The Council sat late, examining and debating the question. Finally they put on record the following unanimous decision: "Notwithstanding the slightness of the Letter at its first appearance, and their daily knowing of scandalous Libels in Court and City to disturb the King and State, *many of them purporting more danger than this did*, they concluded it was not absolutely to be contemned." There the matter was officially left until the King's return.

I think from Cecil's words to Monteagle that Sir Edmund Baynham's Secret Mission had come to the ears of the Spanish Governor, Juan de Velasco, Constable of Castile. He would naturally connect it with Mr. Thomas Winter's formal request in the spring of 1604. Spain was very anxious to show herself friendly to the new King. Foreign relations under Cecil's diplomacy were generally good, and even the Papacy was not openly hostile.

THE LETTER AND THE CONSPIRATORS.

Lord Monteagle's proceedings are questionable on one point. Why, if he considered the Letter ought to be given to Cecil, did he first hand it to Thomas Warde and bid him read it aloud for all to hear? I think that Monteagle had a double motive. He dared not hold his tongue for the reason that I have shown, but he must surely have suspected that it concerned some fresh mad scheme of his friend Catesby's doing, for he knew his record as a schemer and rebel. One must remember the horrible barbarities of the Treason Law, and the ties of blood and alliance as of friendship which bound Monteagle to the conspirators. The Letter might be a Squib, but that was open to grave doubts.

Finally, there is of course the possibility that Monteagle expected some definite warning from Garnet through Tresham, or *vice versa*. The handwriting of the Letter does not resemble Tresham's if examined without bias. It might be any "clerk's hand"—I state this opinion with due diffidence. But the Anonymous Letter is there, in a glass case at the British Museum for all to see, and Tresham's writing can be compared with it. I have my own theory of the Letter, which is independent of those I have read, but I cannot state it here and hope to do so in a more suitable way another time. Another point has been overlooked. The abbreviation mark over the "w" in "mowteagle" betrays a practised hand.

A FRIEND VISITS THOMAS WINTER AT NIGHT IN MONTEAGLE CLOSE.

"Sunday at night (October 27) in came one to my chamber, and told me that a letter had been given to my Lord Monteagle to this effect, that he wished his Lordship's absence from the Parliament, because a Blow would there be given, which Letter he presently carried to my Lord of Salisbury." (Winter's Confession.)

The unnamed friend was surely Thomas Warde who probably acted on Monteagle's hint without asking his leave. Although greatly disturbed, Winter retained his usual composure and it was not until the next morning that he crossed London Bridge and rode to inform Catesby at White Webbs. In Percy's absence in the North collecting his cousin's rentals Winter shared with Keyes and Fawkes the surveillance of the "Bloody Cellar," which they appeared to neglect but watched in turn. I account for Winter staying at his Southwark lodging because by the Bridge he reached the Great North Road, and also because they all made it appear that they carried on their lawful occasions in their usual abodes. He writes frankly of this interview with Catesby: "On the morrow I went to White Webbs and told it to Mr. Catesby, assuring him withal that the matter was disclosed and wishing him in any wise to forsake his country. He told me he would see further as yet and resolved to send Mr. Fawkes to try the uttermost, protesting if the part belonged to myself he would try the same adventure."

This remark of Catesby's reads as if Winter had reproached him on the score of the great risk to Fawkes. But Catesby had demanded if any *names* were given in the Letter and when Winter reassured him he said, "Cecil would never guess the secret." Winter adds:

"On Wednesday Mr. Fawkes went and returned at night, of which we were very glad."

Winter stayed with Catesby at White Webbs, so that if Fawkes did not return the rest should either attempt to escape, or ride to Digby in the Midlands. It is evident that they doubted if Fawkes would return. He reported that he had examined the Cellar and found by "certain secret marks" of his own that the stack of fuel was untouched. Tresham was now overdue at White Webbs, having promised to meet them by Tuesday (29th), but though they watched the Barnet Road he did not appear.

TRESHAM RETURNS SECRETLY TO CLERKENWELL. OCTOBER 29-30.

Catesby's suspicions of Tresham grew keener when the laggard did not return as he had promised them, and on Thursday he sent Winter back to London to find if Tresham had passed White Webbs or left the Great North Road by some *détour*. They doubted if Tresham would linger at Rushton Hall, although it would have seemed an act of common prudence on his part. Possibly they thought he meant to escape in the ship he had hired for Fawkes. Winter guessed that Tresham would be near Hoxton and "On the morning of the 31st Tresham was surprised by the detested face of Winter at his Clerkenwell lodging." (Gardiner.)

However, Tresham readily excused himself. He had been selling Stock in North Hants to find the money he had promised, but the sale had not realized enough, and the chief buyer for Sir William Turpin, one Mr. John Borne, had turned suspicious when asked to pay in ready coin, and Tresham dared not urge him further. Thus his return had been delayed and he had ridden

through Barnet late the previous night. He feared to draw suspicion if he visited White Webbs then, and he might obtain more money in the City.

Winter listened and professed himself satisfied, and took from Tresham all he could get; he said that Catesby required Mr. Tresham's presence at White Webbs. Naturally Winter breathed no word of the Letter. It is remarkable, but Winter's own account continues: "Friday (November 1) Mr. Tresham, Mr. Catesby and I met at Barnet."

Certainly Winter took care that Tresham accompanied him to White Webbs, which lay on the edge of Enfield Chace, by the village of Barnet. And he would of course keep a sharp eye on Tresham's movements. Still it is strange that Catesby let twenty-four hours elapse before he summoned Tresham. I suppose that their fortunes were so desperate that if the latter, as I venture to suggest, offered to borrow a large sum in Town, Winter was prepared to stake another hazard on Tresham's appearance.

CATESBY ACCUSES TRESHAM AT WHITE WEBBS. NOVEMBER 1.

"Where we questioned how this Letter should be sent to my Lord Monteagle." The pretence of civility is maintained in Winter's account, but Tresham was taken to a back room where Catesby and Winter faced him with drawn poniards. No others were present when Robert Catesby charged Francis Tresham with treachery and perjury in sending the Warning Letter. Tresham kept cool although he perceived that they were desperate men and his life was in imminent danger. He swore every oath which Catesby forced upon him at the dagger-point. He asserted that he had never heard of such a Letter and knew naught of its contents. But he begged Catesby earnestly to fly while there was time, and let all but Fawkes escape in the ship, who being unknown could remain hidden in London. Fervently protesting his affection Tresham swore that "Catesby should always live on his purse."

Catesby replied curtly that he would wait until Percy arrived from the North, and he suffered Tresham to depart unscathed while Winter adds tersely: "But could not conceive, for Mr. Tresham forswore it, whom we only suspected."

It is not clear if Winter meant that Tresham was the only suspected confederate, or that Catesby did not care to kill his friend on bare suspicion. Surely if he had betrayed them Tresham showed himself the most subtle villain of the three.

SALISBURY SEES THE KING IN PRIVATE AUDIENCE. WHITEHALL. ALLHALLOWEEN.

"The Earl of Salisbury alone in the Privy Gallery acquainted the King who having read the Letter paused awhile, then read it again and said he thought it was not to be contemned for the style seemed to be more quick and pithy than was usual in superfluities of idle brains." (Contemp. Acct.)

Cecil knew that James must be recollecting the horrible fate of his father Lord Darnley, who perished when Bothwell blew up his Lodging at Kirk o' Field. But the Secretary diplomatically asked: "Who but a fool would have written 'The danger is past as soon as you have burnt the Letter'?"

Probably the writer meant the danger to Monteagle for receiving his warning. But James, "walking and musing in the Gallery," said the attempt could only be made by Gunpowder. He read "as soon as" to be the equivalent of *eftsoons*, which was a common expression for "as quickly"—a sudden act like burning the paper.

Cecil admired the royal argument. James was nicknamed "Solomon" at Court, and he was a shrewd, calculating Scot. He warmed to his theme and asserted that such peril could only be caused by "one traitor in some dark and secret place about the Parliament House"; and he desired "there should be presently a very secret and exact search, in the Parliament House and of all other rooms and lodgings there adjoining." But Cecil deferentially pointed out that the danger was not imminent and distant from Whitehall. He objected to the alarm being given and he persuaded the King to follow his counsel.

THE CIPHER LETTER DISCOVERED. NOVEMBER 2.

A Second Letter fell into the hands of Cecil's spies. It is endorsed "*A Letter found in the Streete.*" There exists no completely deciphered copy, but this Other Letter has been overlooked by those who attack Monteagle's letter as a faked warning, connived by Cecil's cunning. I call it "*The Cipher Letter*" to distinguish it from that, and from yet another which followed it: although not anonymous the names are obviously assumed, for no such persons are known. It begins: "E. F. Mak to Richard Bankes. Hopes for the Success of their Proceedings." Then follows this pregnant phrase: "The Gallery, with the Passage therto yieldeth the best of Assurance and a Safety of the Actors themselves."

Now Fawkes' escape was planned to be from *under the "Long Gallery,"* or Robing-Room of the Bishops, where was the Passage which connected Percy's House and the Powder Cellar. The unknown "Mak" further enjoins strict secrecy, promises "he and his company will come over," and refers to his hopes "to behold the tiranous heretique confounded in his cruell pleasures." The rest is undeciphered, or obscure.

Surely it is an amazing coincidence that this *Cipher Letter* was found just a week after Monteagle received the anonymous warning.

TRESHAM AGAIN WARNS CATESBY AND WINTER. NOVEMBER 2 AND 3.

"On Saturday night," writes Winter, "I met Mr. Tresham again in Lincoln's Inn Walks, where he told such speeches that my Lord of Salisbury should use to the King, as I gave it lost a second time, and repeated the same to Mr. Catesby, who hereupon

was resolved to be gone, but staid to have Master Percy come up, whose consent herein we wanted."

Catesby was bound by the Oath of Secrecy which ran: "Nor desist from the execution thereof until the rest shall give you leave."

By next day fresh warning had come from Warde, and Catesby met Tresham with Winter and Fawkes in "the house behind Clement's Inn," which was where Fawkes lodged, and must have been the one hired by Father Gerard, in which he, innocently, gave the first five plotters the Sacrament after their secret Oath.

Tresham frantically offered Catesby money, and provision for life in exile. But Catesby maintained that a Catholic Rising and the seizure of the Princess Elizabeth offered fair chances and he refused to desert Digby and other friends in the Shires.

Now if, as some state, this second meeting with Tresham confirmed Catesby's suspicions of him as the sender of the Anonymous Letter, how came Catesby to discuss his plans before a traitor, accept more money from him and let him know that he himself meant to wait for Percy at White Webbs? Also why did Winter declare, "*This suspicion of all hands put us in such confusion*"?

THOMAS PERCY RIDES SOUTH. NOVEMBER 2-3.

After he left Alnwick, and his cousin Northumberland's great estates, Percy was disagreeably surprised to find that his position as the Earl's Steward no further protected him. From Gainsborough he wrote three Letters, two of which were to under-agents or bailiffs of his kinsman, and one which he sent under cover to his own servant.

"*Thomas Percy to Mr. Wm. Wickliff at York.*

"SIR; I am advised from those that well know my lord of York his intent not to come any more in the town for if they had not reckoned of my longer stay I had been taken the night I was there. . . ."

The rest concerns his business affairs. He repeats the same news "To my assured friend Mr. Wm. Stockdale at York"; adding:

"Which I will prevent if I may and therefore I am resolved to meet you at Doncaster, upon Tuesday at night . . . if you be not so soon at Doncaster . . . I will stay your coming."

In this letter Percy asks Mr. Stockdale to accept his servant's "acquittance . . . as my own for this discharge." (More of the Earl's rents!) And he asks his friend to "speak to my man to be careful of all things that concern my charge." He signs, "I am and will now rest yr. faithful and true friend." Under this cover Percy sent a very strong "charge to be careful of all things" to his servant Walker in York, bidding him "Let no man take charge of the money but yrself." He repeats the order to "meet him at Doncaster." Signed "Your loving master, Thos. Percy."

These repeated exhortations of fidelity and prudence are curious when Percy was not only busily engaged in wholesale embezzlement of his noble cousin's revenues, but deceiving his friend Mr.

Stockdale who was in a like position of trust. And probably, like Catesby and others, Percy's swordhilt was piously engraved "With the Passion of Our Lord." And yet these men, bloodthirsty and horribly cruel, were faithful friends and their family life was without reproach.

Both Mr. Stockdale and Walker met Percy as it appears in a later letter from Northumberland's head bailiff, Mr. Fotherley; who also reports: "Mr. Percy left a horse at Doncaster, at his coming to London to be kept in debt till his coming back."

"On Sunday night (November 3) came Mr. Percy (to White Webbs) and no 'Nay,' but would abide the uttermost trial."

By his own account Winter clearly wished Catesby to accept Tresham's offers, and Rookwood probably agreed, but Percy seems to have had the rest on his side. Fawkes and the two Wrights, with Keyes, were resolute, and Kit Wright advised Percy to see Northumberland on the morrow as the Earl knew of his arrival. How that nobleman knew is a mystery. But Percy may have been recognized on the Great North Road.¹

"Mr. Catesby resolved to go down into the country the Monday that Mr. Percy went to Sion (House) and Mr. Percy resolved to follow the same night or early next morning."

The rest stayed; Fawkes in the coal-cellar, Keyes at Lambeth, the Wrights and Rookwood with Winter in Southwark.

SIR EVERARD DIGBY SHUTS UP GOTHURST AND RENTS COUGHTON HALL. ALLHALLOWTIDE.

Digby took Coughton Hall (Warwickshire) from Mr. Thomas Throckmorton from the end of October and sent Lady Digby and the two boys there, where they were joined by Fathers Garnet and Greenway, and the Vaux family; Garnet having promised to celebrate the Allhallows Mass. Sir Everard's hunting-party was invited to the Meet on Dunsmoor, near Combe Abbey, the seat of Lord Harrington, the guardian of the Princess Elizabeth, whom Catesby hoped to seize, and proclaim Queen (*vide* Digby's Letter to his Wife from the Tower. Paper IX).

Thus on November 2 Father Gerard, jogging peacefully through Gothurst Park, was amazed to see flocks of cattle and sheep being driven from Digby's broad acres, beside the Ouse. Digby himself met Gerard at the hall door and his manner was cold and embarrassed. Gerard had come to say his All Souls' Mass at his "brother's" house. Digby regretted he could not offer him hospitality; he was leaving and selling cattle and sheep to his neighbours, Mr. Harefoot and Sir William Turpin. Gerard drew Digby aside and asked earnestly: "Has my brother something in hand for the Catholic Cause?" Digby denied it, but Gerard

¹ I think so. *Vide* following: "We have found out . . . that on Saturday (Sunday?) night (Nov. 3rd) he (Percy) came post out of the north; that this man (Fawkes) rid to meet him by the way."—Cecil to Ambassador Sir G. Cornwallis at Madrid.

knew him for a careful man, unlikely to understock his farms. He warned him "lest he hurt both himself and the Cause. . . Was help expected from abroad?" Digby lifted a scornful finger. He "would not venture so much in hope thereof." Gerard grew more anxious; "I pray God you follow Counsel (Spiritual Direction) in your doings." He pressed Digby to say "If Mr. Walley (Garnet) knew of it?" Digby betrayed himself by a hesitating denial and Father Gerard admonished him: "In truth, Sir Everard Digby, if there *should* be Anything in hand and if you retire into safety yourself (meaning at Coughton) you do not perform the part of a friend to your neighbours who deserve every respect and to whom you have professed much friendship . . . that they are left behind without warning as were needful . . . to defend themselves from rogues."

Digby answered curtly: "I warrant you it shall not need." And Father Gerard "shortly rode away," greatly troubled.

Digby remained, collecting arms and horses and money, until Monday the 4th, when he locked up his house, and rode for Dunchurch, with his page Ellis, and Richard Day his receiver (bailiff), "one Hollis an undercook leading the trunk-horse," which bore two large trunks filled with armour, clothes and money.

That night Digby supped alone at Dunchurch Inn.

LORD MONTEAGLE AT WHITEHALL AND WESTMINSTER.
NOVEMBER 4 (AFTERNOON).

The same day Monteagle received a Second Anonymous Letter, which referred to the previous one, and was also in a disguised hand. Tresham would not have sent it, for he well knew there was no cause. And when Lord Chamberlain Suffolk "privately and after he had seen all other places in the Parliament House he took a slight occasion to peruse that vault"; and inquired of Whinniard "Who ought that wood?" It was Monteagle who alone accompanied Suffolk "(Ld M.) being curious to see the event of that accident" (i.e. Letter) and he also heard the replies of both the Keeper of the Wardrobe and the unknown "Johnson, Mr. Percy's man." "I suspect the Letter came from my old friend Thomas Percy," whispered Monteagle, sharply to Suffolk, as they passed out into the passage, leading to Parliament Place.

Fawkes got a warning word to Percy who had dined with the cheated Northumberland at Sion House; probably he crossed in his boat to Lambeth and saw Keyes, for the latter was the last of them who stole into Whynniard's garden "about nine at night," and brought Fawkes a silver watch from Percy, and bade him "God Speed," departing with muffled oars, the tide being at half-ebb, to join the rest in Monteagle Close. Fawkes, we know, had his small wherry lying on the mud, above high-water mark, outside Percy's Lodging.

THOMAS PERCY PROCLAIMED FOR HIGH TREASON. NOVEMBER 5
(EARLY MORNING).

"About 5 o'clock," relates Winter, "came the younger Wright (Christopher) to my chamber and told me that a nobleman called (summoned) the Lord Monteagle," (who must have been then at Monteagle House in the Close) "saying: 'Rise and come along to Essex House, for I am going to call up my Lord of Northumberland,' saying withal: 'The matter is discovered.'" "Go back, Mr. Wright," quoth I; "and learn what you can at Essex Gate." "Shortly he returned and said: 'Surely all is lost, for Leyton is got on horseback at Essex door, and as he parted he asked "If their lordships would have (required) any more with him?" and being answered "No," is rode as fast up Fleet Street as he can ride.'" Monteagle House adjoined the Close and stood near Winchester House, not far from the Globe Theatre.

I take Leyton for a Sheriff's officer who went to bid the Lord Mayor call out the Trainbands and close the City Gates. Since Christopher Wright "returned shortly," having twice covered the distance from Winter's Lodging near S. Mary Overy to Essex House, Strand, crossing London Bridge, he may have stabled his horse near the Bridge. He mingled in the crowd afoot by the Essex Gate or by the Holbein Gate just south of Charing Cross, and was joined by Ambrose¹ Rookwood, for eye-witnesses later testified that they had "marked two gentlemen by the Gate who were aghast and chapfallen and heard one say to the other: "All is lost! Alack! We are undone!" But Winter at least remained cool. "Go you then," quoth I, "to Mr. Percy, for sure it is for him they seek, and bid him begone: I will stay and see the uttermost."

Winter guessed right. The search was hot for Percy and the ink was scarce dry on the "Royal Proclamation for Percy's Apprehension." Rumours chased him north and south. Archbishop Bancroft wrote Percy had been seen near Croydon, and Lord Chief Justice Popham reported "a hot rider" (Percy?) on the Gravesend Road. This item makes one wonder if Fawkes's ship was not anchored near Gravesend. Northumberland admitted Percy dined at Sion on Monday but left about 1 p.m. Winter proves how ignorant the Government were of their names, for he declares how he "went to the Court (Whitehall) Gates, and found them straitly guarded as nobody could enter. From thence I went towards the Parliament House, and in the middle of King Street found the Guard standing that would not let me pass, and as I returned I heard one say: 'There is a Treason discovered in which the King and the Lords should have been blown up,' so then I was fully satisfied that all was known, and went to the stable where my gelding stood and rode into the country."

King Street was then the highway from Charing Cross to Westminster, and it was the old road of Hubert de Burgh, repaired by

¹ It must have been Rookwood—the rest had gone.—J. K.

Wolsey and Henry VIII. Winter passed coolly through the Holbein Gate, down the narrow highway of King Street and was stopped half-way to the King's Gate. It is remarkable that he, a known Recusant and Percy's near friend, could thus mix freely with the horrified citizens crowding the street so near Parliament Place, all talking of "the discovered Treason at the Parliament House," and "Percy's Plot," and yet he showed no fear of being "stayed and apprehended." I confess to some admiration of Mr. Thomas Winter, who deserved a better fate for his staunch and fearless attitude in the face of danger and imminent arrest.

FLIGHT OF THE CONSPIRATORS.

Tresham alone remained quietly in his Clerkenwell Lodging while the rest spurred for their lives on the Great North Road. Kit Wright met Percy, who had probably halted for the night between Hampstead and Barnet. A green rise on The Heath overlooking Westminster, used to be called "Traitors' Mount" some years ago, and local tradition said that some of them watched from thence for the smoke of Fawkes's powder-barrels. If so, it would have been Catesby, with his servant Bates, and John Wright. Percy had passed them in the darkness. Kit Wright was a bold rider and he threw off his cloak to ride faster, but Ambrose Rookwood won the race for Ledgers Ashby, having posted fresh mounts from his stud at inns along the Great North Road. He reached Lady Catesby's house in less than eight hours, riding eighty miles without a halt! He passed first Keyes who rode off when Wright warned him, overtook Catesby and John Wright at Brick Hill Bucks, and left Kit Wright and Percy behind him a few miles further on.

Meanwhile that fiery gentleman Mr. John Grant, with his younger brother Francis, and other rash gentlemen had broken into Warwick Castle at 3 a.m. and forcibly removed "the strong horses in the care of one Benocke, a rider (trainer)" dashing on after for "Ledgers Ashby," startling the countryside; and they, with Lady Catesby and Robert Winter, were at supper when the fugitives arrived. Whose coming soon came to the ears of Daventry, and to His Majesty's Justices of the Peace there, Sir Eusebie Andrew and Sir Thomas Burnaby, who lost no time in taking the sworn depositions of eye-witnesses: while in Warwickshire Sir Richard Verney, Sir John Ferrers, and Mr. William Coombe for their part acted with admirable promptness and vigour on the complaint of the outraged Trainer Benocke and his clients, those gentry whose horses had been insolently seized by such known Recusants.

PART III. DEFEAT.

The stir in the Shires is described in the Daventry magistrates' letter to Salisbury as follows:

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

We having been informed of a great concourse of horsemen on Tuesday the fifth of November at Ledgers Ashby in the County

of Northampton, between four and ten of the clock in the afternoon, and likewise of the intended treason about the Parliament house, as also of five gentlemen who came posting down from London very suspiciously into our Country, and as far as we can gather by Examinations went presently to the said Ledgers Ashby but there did not stay: Whereupon we having taken divers Examinations, we thought it our duty to send the account thereof unto your lordship: And so referring ourselves wholly to your honoured discretion, we humbly take our leaves. Daventrie in Northam. this VIIIth day of Novem: 1605.

Your honours in all duty,

EUSEBIE ANDREWE.
THO. BURNABYE.

Dr. J. Wesley Bready has written a delightful and most readable life of *Dr. Barnardo, Physician, Pioneer and Prophet* (George Allen & Unwin), 7s. 6d. in which we have a picture drawn of the man and his marvellous work. Somehow we do not see Barnardo as much of a physician, but we see him as something more than a pioneer and less than a prophet. He was a man with a consuming passion as an Evangelist, a rescuer and emancipator of childhood, and a matchless organizer whose thought gave birth to institutions that have revolutionized the care of the abandoned waifs and strays of our modern life. To see Barnardo in true perspective we have to compare what was being done for these jetsam and flotsam of humanity when he began his work and what is now universally recognized as a state and Christian duty. Barnardo was a man with all the ebullient enthusiasm of his Irish forbears and with a strong practical common sense which enabled him to avoid being led astray by will-o'-the-wisp ideas in the pursuit of his ends. He knew what was needed, and from the small beginnings of a shed saw Garden Cities for boys and girls, training homes and other institutions, spring into active being. The man was indomitable in his gift of facing and overcoming difficulties, he was inspired with a master passion to serve his Lord and with a fearlessness in carrying out his task. Dr. Bready has grasped the broad outlines of his work, he has picturesquely described its growth, and he has made it and him live in the minds of his readers. We sincerely hope that this Life will do much to increase the affection and confidence which the name Barnardo has inspired in all who wish to see the children of the abyss rescued from lives that can only be a disgrace and a menace to civilization and our common Christianity. The book is breezily and brightly written and its illustrations are well chosen.